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NSC BRIEFING

18 January 1955

SOVIET ANTI-RATIFICATION CAMPAIGN

- I. USSR is continuing to search for new and dramatic ways either to prevent ratification of the Paris accords or at least to raise Western doubts over wisdom of implementing German rearmament. Campaign can be expected to stay in high gear for next stage of ratification process--West German Bundestag debates, action by French Council, both in mid-Feb.
- II. Threats and intimidation (aimed mainly at France, Benelux, Britain) reached climax with 13 Jan. '54 notes to WEU countries, charging that Paris accords contradict Geneva Protocol of 1925 (prohibition bacteriological, chemical weapons).
 - A. Note warned that accords--by providing West Germany with these plus atomic weapons--would intensify danger of a sort of war particularly threatening to "European countries with great density of population."
- III. WEU note was followed by abrupt concentration of Soviet propaganda emphasis on West Germany--on 15 Jan., Moscow for first time offered to establish diplomatic relations with Bonn. USSR also indicated willingness accept some sort of international supervision of all-German elections.

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- A. Both offers provisional on non-ratification Paris agreements.
- B. Also hinted that Bonn could improve reunification prospects by abandoning Adenauer's pro-Western policies, seeking direct contacts with Moscow.
- C. Soviet objective--undermining Adenauer by showing dangers, futility his policies--also evident in Kremlin's simultaneous offer repatriate 40,000 West German POWs.
 - 1. Soviet negotiators wanted Adenauer's opponents to receive credit for success, refused to talk with CDU representatives.
- D. None of moves likely to affect Bundestag's decision.
 - 1. Although Social Democrats hailed offers as "sensational", Bonn government has restated its belief that USSR will still be willing to negotiate after treaty ratification.
 - 2. Bonn contends Paris agreements do not close door on unity; that if unity can be arranged at later date, a unified Germany could leave NATO and WEU.
- IV. In addition to formal Soviet gestures toward WEU nations, Bonn, last few weeks have seen number of reports of "imminence" of war. We believe these reports have been

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generated deliberately and covertly by the USSR. Purpose:

- A. To impress public opinion and parliaments with serious consequences of ratification.
- B. To prepare Orbit opinion for increased security and military measures.
- C. We expect that such reports will continue at least until final ratification.

1. Example—on 6 Jan. '54, officer of a Communist-dominated Dutch labor federation stated "battle signal" had been given, USSR would "not allow" rearmament of West Germany. Said: "it is absolutely certain" that if no changes take place this year, USSR will start a preventive war.

V. Despite such covert "scare" propaganda, the USSR has not committed itself to any specific counter-measure to German rearmament other than intensified Satellite military preparedness.

- A. Certainly has not committed USSR to military action.
- B. In fact, Moscow has somewhat reduced intensity of "war threat" propaganda both in Eastern Europe and within USSR, presumably because of mounting popular concern, which has approached panic in some cases.

VI. Concrete Soviet actions—as distinct from propaganda—aimed at intimidating Western Europe on eve of ratification have been confined to harassment in Berlin, Austria.

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- A. In Berlin, during past week, a significant intensification in checks on border crossers. US officials report that pattern of last few days shows definite buildup.
- B. In Austria, Soviet authorities have set up, but not yet put in use, check points around Vienna. Zonal border controls (abandoned in June '53) may be reimposed.

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